

Message Text

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O 011100Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1738
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY NICISOA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 3328

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PEPR, CY, TU
SUBJ: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 106179, (B) STATE 110036, (C) STATE 109573

1. AMBASSADOR, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM, MET WITH TURKISH
FONMIN OKCUN EVENING OF APRIL 30. OKCUN WAS
ACCOMPANIED BY HALUK OZGUN FROM MFA. AMBASSADOR
BEGAN BY TELLING OKCUN THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAD
BEEN IN TOUCH WITH UNSYG WALDHEIM SEVERAL TIMES IN
ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE HIM THAT INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS
SHOULD BE CALLED. WALDHEIM WAS RELUCTANT TO CALL
FOR TALKS. FURTHERMORE, KYPRIANOU HAD TOLD WALDHEIM
PRIVATELY THAT IF TALKS WERE CALLED, HE WOULD NOT
COME. WALDHEIM'S RELUCTANCE APPARANTLY WAS NOT
BASED PARTICULARLY ON KYPRIANOU'S ATTITUDE, BUT
ON HIS OWN RESERVATIONS REGARDING TURKISH PROPOSALS.
THEN AMBASSADOR MADE DETAILED PRESENTATION TO OKCUN ENCOMPASSING
ALL POINTS CONTAINED REFTELS. FOLLOWING THAT, HE HANDED
OKCUN PAPER CONTAINING SAME POINTS.

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2. OKCUN LISTENED CAREFULLY TO PRESENTATION AND
STUDIED PAPER CAREFULLY. HE COMMENTED THAT HE HAD
BEEN OUT OF TURKEY FOR THREE WEEKS AND, THEREFORE,
NOT FULLY UP ON STATUS OF PROPOSALS AND NEGOTIATIONS.
AS HE LOOKED AT PAPER, HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM HE SAW
WAS THAT THERE WAS NOTHING FOR GREEKS TO DO. HE

SAW ONLY ONE REFERENCE TO ACTION FROM GREEK SIDE. TURKEY HAD DECLARED A NEGOTIATING POSITION BUT THE GREEKS (HE CLEARLY MEANT ATHENS AND NICOSIA) HAD DONE NOTHING. OKCUN SAID THAT HE HAD ASKED SECRETARY VANCE TO PRESSURE THE GREEKS AND KARAMANLIS PERSONALLY ON CYPRUS AND ON TURKISH-GREEK RELATIONS. OKCUN WAS TROUBLED BY IMPRESSIONS HE HAD RECEIVED FROM GREEK FONMIN IN STRASBOURG. THE GREEKS WERE NOT READY TO TALK EVEN AT TECHNICAL LEVEL. GREEK FONMIN HAD SAID THAT TALKS NOW WOULD BE "DIFFICULT AND POSSIBLY "DESTRUCTIVE". FOR THE FIRST TIME GREEK FONMIN HAD MENTIONED CYPRUS PROBLEM, TELLING OKCUN "KEY IS IN YOUR HANDS". HE HAD SAID THAT TURKISH-CYPRUS PROPOSALS WERE INSUFFICIENT BUT HAD NOT INDICATED THAT THE GREEKS WERE PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL IN ANY WAY. THEREFORE, IN OKCUN'S VIEW ALL CONCESSIONS HAD COME FROM TURKISH SIDE. THE GREEKS WERE USING THE EMBARGO, THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS TO GET THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS TO WHITTLE DOWN THEIR NEGOTIATING POSITION. OKCUN CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO REPLY TO PROPOSALS AMBASSADOR HAD JUST MADE WITHOUT SEEING WHAT THE US WAS SAYING TO THE GREEKS.

3. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT USG WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO TRY TO GET THE GREEK CYPRIOTS INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM WAS WALDHEIM, WHO WAS RELUCTANT TO CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS. THERE
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WAS A PROPOGANDA BATTLE GOING ON. IF WALDHEIM DID NOT MAKE CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS, GREEK CYPRIOTS WOULD HAVE A PREFERRED POSITION IN THAT BATTLE. THERE WERE TWO OBJECTIVES. ONE WAS TO INFLUENCE CONGRESS ON THE EMBARGO AND THE OTHER WAS TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. WHAT WASHINGTON WAS ASKING OKCUN WAS THAT THE TURKS EMPHASIZE FLEXIBILITY. OKCUN SHOULD KNOW THAT EVERY DIPLOMAT IN ANKARA SAID TURKEY WAS LOSING THE PROPAGANDA BATTLE AROUND THE WORLD. IT WAS SIGNIFICANT THAT PRO-TURKISH NEWSPAPERS LIKE THE WASHINGTON POST AND THE FINANCIAL TIMES WERE CRITICAL OF THE TURKISH PROPOSALS. KYPRIANOU WAS SAYING THE TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL INVOLVED RETURN OF ONLY ONE PERCENT OF THE TERRITORY. WHAT ASSERTION, WHICH AMBASSADOR BELIEVED WAS NOT TRUE, WAS NOT BEING EFFECTIVELY REBUTTED. NOW THE US WAS MAKING CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS, IE AN INITIATIVE ON VAROSHA INVOLVING THE UN; MORE PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON FLEXIBILITY; AND A STATEMENT DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WOULD LIKE TO MAKE AT SENATE MAY 2 HEARINGS. THESE WERE SERIOUS SUGGESTIONS FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE. IF TURKS DID NOT LIKE THESE SUGGESTIONS, WHAT DID

THEY SUGGEST? PRESIDENT CARTER WAS COMMITTED. HE HAD TAKEN ON A FIGHT AND HE WANTED TO WIN. HIS PRESTIGE WAS ON THE LINE. HE WANTED TO DO EVERYTHING HE COULD DO TO WIN, AND WAS NOW ASKING FOR TURKISH HELP IN PERSUADING THE CONGRESS TO CHANGE ITS POSITION. THE POLITICAL COSTS FOR KYPRIANOU'S STANDING PAT MUST BE RAISED AND THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE BY SKILLFUL TURKISH DISPLAY OF FLEXIBILITY. HIGH LEVEL TURKISH ATTENTION TO WHAT WOULD BE DONE TO GET KYPRIANOU INTO NEGOTIATIONS WAS NEEDED. THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD DO EVERYTHING IT COULD, BUT IT NEEDED HELP.

4. OKCUN INTERJECTED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WALDHEIM'S ATTITUDE. AMBASSADOR ACKNOWLEDGED
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THAT HE, TOO, WAS PERSONALLY DISAPPOINTED IN WALDHEIM, BUT THAT THE QUESTION WAS HOW TO GET THE EMBARGO SUCCESSFULLY THROUGH THE CONGRESS. THINGS WERE NOT GOING WELL THERE. GREEK CYPRIOT PROPAGANDA WAS HAVING ITS EFFECT. ONE INFORMAL HEAD COUNT AMBASSADOR HAD RECEIVED SHOWED A 30 VOTE MARGIN IN HOUSE AGAINST LIFTING THE EMBARGO. IF THIS WAS CORRECT, A MINIMUM OF 16 VOTES HAD TO BE CHANGED. AMBASSADOR ALSO CITED PERSONAL LETTERS FROM FRIENDLY SOURCES IN US NOTING THAT CONGRESSMEN MUST BE CONVINCED THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. THERE WAS A NEED FOR GOT TO DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY AT THIS STAGE IN ORDER TO GET THINGS STARTED.

5. OKCUN SAID TURKISH PROPOSALS HAD STRESSED EVOLUTIONARY FEDERALISM. THIS WAS SERIOUS CONCEPT AND SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED TO THE CONGRESS. IT WAS HARD TO START WITH A GIVEN PERCENTAGE OF TERRORITY AS THERE WERE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS THAN MERE PERCENTAGES. THE PROBLEM WAS REALLY WHETHER THE GREEKS WERE READY TO NEGOTIATE. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT KYPRIANOU HAD INITIALLY BEEN WORRIED, BUT NOW SAW A CHANCE TO KEEP THE EMBARGO IN PLACE. TURKS MUST PUT HIM IN A POSITION THAT IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY COSTLY TO MAINTAIN. THIS COULD BE DONE BY EMPHASIS ON FLEXIBILITY AND READINESS TO NEGOTIATE.

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USMISSION USUN IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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6. OKCUN SAID THAT POINT THAT IT WAS GREEKS WHO WERE BEING INTRANSIGENT AND REFUSING TO NEGOTIATE MUST BE MADE TO THE CONGRESS. AMBASSADOR SAID HE WAS SURE THAT POINT WAS BEING MADE BUT THE OPPOSITION HAD CLEARLY MADE PROGRESS IN CONVINCING PUBLIC OPINION THAT, AS THEY STAND, TURKISH PROPOSALS DO NOT WARRANT RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. ESSENTIAL PROBLEM, HE CONTINUED, WAS THAT WHILE US NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS CLEARLY POINT IN ONE DIRECTION, EXIGENCIES OF AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICS POINTED IN OPPOSITE. THIS IS REASON ADMINISTRATION FELT IT CRUCIAL FOR ANKARA PUBLICLY TO DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY. HE ADDED REVISION OF PROPOSALS WAS NOT ONLY WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS.

7. OKCUN THEN QUESTIONED WHETHER WORLD PUBLIC OPINION WAS AS NEGATIVE ON PROPOSALS AS AMBASSADOR ASSERTED. HE HAD JUST COME FROM COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND BELIEVED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE HAD BEEN MORE FAVORABLE TO TURKISH POINT OF VIEW. FOR EXAMPLE, KARASEK REPORT
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FAVORABLE TO TURKEY HAD BEEN APPROVED AND SPEECH BY GREEK REPRESENTATIVE CONDEMNING TURKEY ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAD BEEN IGNORED. IN HIS OWN CONVERSATIONS WITH PEOPLE AT BOTH THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE HE HAD RECEIVED DEFINITE IMPRESSION THAT DESPITE GREEK PROPAGANDA, TURKISH PROPOSALS WERE BEING RECEIVED POSITIVELY. HE HAD RECEIVED SAME IMPRESSION IN LONDON DURING

CENTO MEETING. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT HE HAD SEEN REPORTS FROM STRASBOURG AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT TURKEY HAD HAD SOME SUCCESS AT COUNCIL OF EUROPE MEETING. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD SEEN REPORTS FROM OTHER PLACES, EG BONN AND LONDON, INDICATING GENERAL FEELING OF DISAPPOINTMENT WITH TURKISH PROPOSALS. IT WAS, THEREFORE, VITAL THAT ON TUESDAY, CHRISTOPHER HAVE THE MOST POSITIVE PARAGRAPH TO WHICH TURKEY COULD AGREE. OKCUN EVADED DIRECT REPLY BUT SAID US MUST PUT MORE PRESSURE ON WALDHEIM. AMBASSADOR SAID USG WAS DOING ITS PART BUT TURKEY MUST MOVE TO INCREASE THE POLITICAL COST TO KYPRIANOU OF MAINTAINING HIS PRESENT POSITION. OKCUN REPLIED THAT USG NOT PUTTING SUFFICIENT PRESSURE ON KYPRIANOU. AMBASSADOR SAID USG DOING WHAT IT COULD, BUT KYPRIANOU WAS BEING SUCCESSFUL IN FIGHT FOR PUBLIC OPINION. IT MUST BE SHOWN THAT KYPRIANOU WAS REJECTING POSSIBILITY OF GENUINE PROGRESS. THIS WAS MAJOR REASON WHY INITIATIVE ON VAROSHA WAS BEING SUGGESTED. VAROSHA WAS SYMBOL. TURKEY MUST HOLD OUT TO GREEK CYPRIOTS HOPE THAT THEY COULD GAIN VAROSHA THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WOULD DIVIDE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND PUT KYPRIANOU UNDER POLITICAL PRESSURE. PRESENT TURKISH PROPOSAL WAS UNWORKABLE BECAUSE THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY GREEKS WOULD RETURN TO VAROSHA UNDER TURKISH JURISDICTION. (OKCUN DID NOT REBUT THIS.)

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8. OKCUN THEN TURNED TO QUESTION OF ATHENS. HE COMPLAINED THAT ATHENS' POSITION WAS THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS SHOULD "DO SOMETHING", BUT THEN IT /NOT INTERESTED" IN PROBLEM. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT KARAMANLIS HAD BEHAVED RESPONSIBLY. HE HAD DONE MINIMUM HE COULD IN OPPOSITION TO RAISING OF EMBARGO IN FACE OF HIS OWN PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS. AMBASSADOR THROUGH KARAMANLIS WAS SINCERE IN WISHING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. FURTHERMORE, KARAMANLIS WANTED BETTER RELATIONS WITH NATO AND WISHED GREECE TO ENTER EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

9. IN RESPONSE, OKCUN ONCE MORE REVERTED TO THEME THAT US MUST PUT PRESSURE ON GREEKS AND WALDHEIM. HE COMMENTED THAT HE HAD SAID ON ATHENS TV THAT IT WAS NOT ENOUGH FOR GREEKS TO REJECT TURKISH PROPOSALS; THEY MUST PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN. AMBASSADOR REPLIED THAT HE THOUGHT TERRITORY WAS KEY TO SHIFTING GREEK POSITION. REGARDING THE CONSTITUTION, TURKS COULD SAY THEY WERE READY TO DISCUSS ANYTHING AS LONG AS THE TURKISH COMMUNITY'S SECURITY WAS PROTECTED. WORLD COMMUNITY ACCEPTED

POINT THAT TURKISH COMMUNITY MUST BE PROTECTED AGAINST DANGERS AND ATTACKS OF PAST. ON TERRITORY, HOWEVER, TURKS COULD OFFER FAR GREATER FLEXIBILITY. THIS WAS NOT GIVING ANYTHING AWAY. AFTER ALL, THESE WERE PACKAGE PROPOSALS. NOTHING WAS GIVEN AWAY UNTIL NEGOTIATIONS WERE COMPLETE. IT WAS ONLY THROUGH HOLDING OUT TO GREEK CYPRIOTS CONCRETE HOPE OF REGAINING PROPERTY THAT REAL PRESSURE COULD BE PUT ON KYPRIANOU. AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT KYPRIANOU'S REAL OBJECTIVE WAS PROBABLY UNITARY STATE, BUT EMPHASIZED THAT POSITION WAS UNSUSTAINABLE IF LARGE NUMBER OF GREEK CYPRIOTS SAW OPPORTUNITY TO REGAIN PROPERTY.

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10. CONVERSATION ENDED WITH OKCUN PROMISING TO EXAMINE OUR PROPOSALS. HE AGREED THAT GOT WOULD TRY TO GIVE ANSWER ON MONDAY REGARDING PROPOSED PARAGRAPH FOR CHRISTOPHER TESTIMONY. IN CLOSING, HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT BOTH THE USG AND THE GOT HAD MADE COURAGEOUS MOVES. THEREFORE, "WE MUST HELP EACH OTHER". HE STILL BELIEVED, HOWEVER THAT WHAT WAS LACKING WERE SUFFICIENT DEMANDS ON GREECE, GREEK CYPRIOTS AND WALDHEIM. US MUST PUT PRESSURE ON ALL THREE. THEY MUST BE MADE TO CONTRIBUTE.

11. COMMENT: IT IS HARD TO TELL FROM ABOVE HOW MUCH PROGRESS WE MADE. OKCUN WAS IN SOBER MOOD THROUGHOUT. HE GENUINELY SEEMS TO DOUBT TURKISH PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN AS BADLY RECEIVED IN PUBLIC OPINION AS WE THINK. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT TO EXPECT IN WAY OF TURKISH SUGGESTIONS RE PARAGRAPH FOR CHRISTOPHER TESTIMONY BUT SUSPECT WE WILL HAVE AT LEAST ONE MORE BARGAINING SESSION ON THAT. THE PROPOSALS FOR AN INITIATIVE ON VAROSHA WILL TAKE MORE TIME FOR THE TURKS TO THINK ABOUT AND OKCUN GAVE NO HINT AS TO WHAT THEY MIGHT DO. THE POINTS ON WHICH HE SEEMED TO RESPOND MOST POSITIVELY WERE THOSE WE MADE ABOUT THE VALUE OF USING TERRITORY TO PUT KYPRIANOU UNDER PRESSURE. I HAD FEELING OKCUN WOULD LIKE TO DO MORE WITH THAT IDEA, ALTHOUGH HE OBVIOUSLY FEELS UNDER GREAT CONSTRAINT IN GIVING UP TERRITORY. AT ONE POINT I TOLD HIM THAT TURKEY HAD OFTEN STRESSED THAT WE MUST NOT LET QUESTION OF SMALL ISLAND OF CYPRUS AFFECT THE TURKISH-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP, WHICH IS FAR MORE IMPORTANT. NOW I WAS SAYING SAME THING TO HIM: FAR BIGGER GAME WAS BEING PLAYED THAN CYPRUS AND
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TURKEY MUST NOT LET THEIR POLICIES BE HELD HOSTAGE BY
THAT SMALL ISLAND.
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